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AUGUST 15, 1946

# Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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## How Can Peace Be Brought to Palestine?

*Acting Moderator,* ORVILLE A. HITCHCOCK

### *Speakers*

DR. JAMES G. McDONALD

DR. JAMES C. HELLER

DR. KHALIL TOTAH

MR. PHILIP JORDAN

(See also page 12)

### COMING

—August 22, 1946—

## Can Free Competition Now Prevent Inflation?

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## THE BROADCAST OF AUGUST 15:

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## THE BROADCAST OF AUGUST 22:

### "Can Free Competition Now Prevent Inflation?"



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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



AUGUST 15, 1946

VOL. 12, No. 16

### How Can Peace Be Brought to Palestine?

#### Announcer:

Town Hall and the American Broadcasting Company welcome you to another stirring session of America's Town Meeting, the program that presents both sides of the controversial issues of the day. Tonight here in Radio City, New York, four authorities will give us the answers to the timely question, "How Can Peace Be Brought to Palestine?" Here to preside over tonight's discussion is Mr. Denny's Administrative Assistant at Town Hall, Mr. Orville Hitchcock. Mr. Hitchcock. (*Applause.*)

#### Moderator Hitchcock:

Good evening, friends. Of the many sore spots in the world today, few are more explosive or threatening to the peace than Palestine. This tiny country of 10,000 square miles under the present mandate, about the size of the State of Vermont, has been torn by strife almost continuously since World War I.

During the past two weeks the controversy over its future has reached a new peak of intensity. The situation is so full of dynamite and so important to the welfare of millions of people and to the peace of the world that the time has come to raise dramatically the question, "How Can Peace Be Brought to Palestine?"

There is no doubt that this subject is difficult to approach without emotion, but this is all the more reason why it should be discussed. You and I as citizens cannot escape our responsibility for a sound opinion on this vital question. It cuts across almost every humanitarian, social, economic, and political interest that we have.

To solve the problem we must face it squarely. We cannot run away from it just because it is complex and delicate. To help us review the facts, especially the developments of the past few months and to explore with us



ways of securing a final solution, we have on our platform tonight four outstanding speakers representing four different points of view—Dr. James G. McDonald, member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Problems of Jews in Europe and Palestine; Mr. Philip Jordan, First Secretary of the British Embassy; Dr. Khalil Totah, Executive Director of the Institute of Arab-American Affairs, and Dr. James G. Heller, vice-president of the Zionist Organization of America.

First we shall hear from Mr. Philip Jordan, former war correspondent for the *London News Chronicle* and now first secretary of the British Embassy in Washington. Mr. Jordan. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Jordan:**

Well, when I told a friend in Washington that I'd been invited, just after my arrival in your country, to speak on this program, all he had to say was, "Well, you haven't lost much time in sticking your neck out." Well, maybe I haven't, but it seems to me that my neck, if you wish to chop it off—but not before the end of this hour, please—is little to pay for any contribution that we can make here to the subject of our debate, "How Can Peace Be Brought to Palestine?"

Now there is one way in which it certainly cannot be brought. That is by indulging in abuse and recriminations. We've all made

mistakes, all of us, and no doubt we shall all make more before this chapter in human suffering is closed. But there are certain fundamental principles about Palestine today which are sometimes forgotten. If we are to be constructive we must remember them:

(1) That Palestine is a country sacred to the three great monotheistic religions—Christianity, the Jewish religion, and the Mohammedan religion—and it is not and must, therefore, never become either an Arab-dominated or Jewish-dominated state.

(2) When the League of Nations mandate was entrusted to Britain there was imposed on that country the paramount duty of safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine and of maintaining law and order.

Now I've no doubt that there are several sincere ways of interpreting that duty. But there can be no two opinions about this, that if the mandatory power failed to prevent the domination of one community by the other it would be grossly neglecting its responsibilities.

But merely to prevent something is negative and leads only to frustration. If then we are to bring peace to Palestine, we must do more than prevent. We must, in fact, try to reconcile the proper aspirations of Jew and Arab so

that they may ultimately live in concord.

But it seems to me essential that if peace is to come to Palestine some form of temporary partial self-government, as recommended by the joint Report of the Anglo-American experts, must be devised for the two communities, for it has now been so devised that, however rapidly it may result in complete self-government and Palestine's eventual membership in the United Nations, no one community can ever impose its will on another.

Now how are we to achieve a beginning? The immediate answer to the question is implied in the Anglo-American Report which is now I think the object of scrutiny by your Administration. In that report the experts claim that a form of government must be imposed on Palestine today by some external authority. The alternative, they think, would be either the ending of the mandate and the withdrawal of the British troops which, in their opinion — not merely in mine but in their's — would lead to such internal bitterness and strife between Jews and Arabs as to make such a course unthinkable, or some agreement between the Jews and Arabs themselves, the possibility of which at present these experts flatly deny.

That statement from the Report doesn't mean that the recommended form of government, with

a partial autonomy or not, is to be imposed on Palestine without full consultation with Jew and Arab. Both your Government and mine are alike pledged to consultation before any basic change is made in Palestine.

Secretary of State Byrnes has said this: "Should any proposal emerge which, in our opinion, would change the basic situation in Palestine, it would be the policy of this Government not to reach final conclusions without the full consultation with Jewish and Arab leaders."

Well, some basic proposals have emerged, and they are the substance of the report by the Anglo-American experts. They are far from perfect but they form the first practicable and fact-facing plan devised and they do, by initially granting a measure of provincial autonomy to both Jew and Arab, make full self-government possible before long. The Anglo-American experts say that the administering authority, that is the British, will grant full self-government to Palestine whenever the Jews and Arabs can come to an agreement and present, between them, a scheme which will insure peace and stability in the country.

Now may I end, please, on this slightly personal note. I've traveled often in Palestine and always have been touched by the friendship that, except in times of stress, exists between simple Arab and



simple Jew—Brother Semites as they are and as they know themselves to be. I could wish from my heart that some of these violent politicians who are plagued by an itch for domination, would sometimes remember that communities are made of ordinary people like ourselves and are not merely sets of chessmen to be set against each other at the orders of their imperious ambitions. (*Applause.*)

**Moderator Hitchcock:**

Thank you, Mr. Jordan. Now for another point of view, we turn to Dr. James G. Heller, member of the executive committee and vice president of the Zionist Organization of America. Dr. Heller. (*Applause.*)

**Dr. Heller:**

Mr. Chairman, colleagues, I wish that it were possible for me to agree with Mr. Jordan. The problem of peace in Palestine is not simple. No uncomplex proposal will settle it.

The promise that was originally made by Great Britain in 1917 was not, as has been stated, a promise to maintain the balance in Palestine and to see merely that the civil and religious rights of the inhabitants were not impaired. That is only the negative part of the promise. The promise of the Balfour Declaration and the promise later incorporated into the mandate, which still is in force,

obligates Great Britain to facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine and to facilitate close settlement upon the land. The emphasis in recent years has only been upon the purely protective provision of the original declaration.

Tragic plight of Jews in Europe, their conviction that there is no future for them, save in Palestine, and the benefits already conferred upon Palestine and the whole Near East by the 600,000 Jews who have settled there, these must be taken into consideration, as well as the rights of the Arabs and the maneuvers and threats of neighboring Arab dynasties.

But the problem is not as insoluble as the British have led the world to believe. Much of the unrest in Palestine is, I assert, the direct result of British policy. (*Applause.*) It is the result of the vacillation and often of the unfriendliness of colonial administrators, the bolstering up of reactionary Arab economic and religious leaders.

In spite of fine British traditions at home, there is some justice to the charge, broadcast the other day by a Soviet station, that Britain had been employing in Palestine the old Roman technique of divide and rule.

Of recent months, Palestine has been in the throes of a vicious circle. First, you commit acts of most reprehensible inhumanity, and then you condemn and punish

those whom these acts have driven to desperation. (*Applause.*) This is not a question only of some hundreds of terrorists, whom every right-minded man repudiates; this is a question of the whole Palestinian-Jewish community.

They will not forget the Biblical injunction "Thou shalt not stand idly by the blood of thy neighbor." Myriads of European Jews need Palestine with a tragic need. They ought to be the first charge upon the world's mercy. They are even now moving toward Palestine in frail, narrow crafts. To build a wall of exclusion about the country, to hold them at its very shores as is now being done, to turn them back, and to intern them at Cyprus, is to drive their brothers in Palestine to a point where they regard death as preferable to sitting idly by while this crime is being committed. This is today the main cause for unrest and for the more recent acts of British suppression.

Nor will peace be brought to Palestine by partitioning the country, by cloaking designs for British rule and British military use of the land under great words like "federalism." Peace will not be brought by yielding to Arab threats, whether in or about Palestine. This is one international nettle that will have to be grasped firmly.

Not only the salvation of many thousands of Jews in Europe, but

the welfare of Palestine, perhaps the future of that whole part of the world, depends upon an end to the scuttling of the promises of the Balfour Declaration and the mandate, upon preventing Great Britain from writing "finis" to the magnificent achievements of Jews in Palestine.

It has been said that Zionism was one of the boldest and most unique of political schemes to rescue Jews who are victims of many generations of hatred and violence, to rebuild a land over which thirteen centuries of neglect and abuse had passed, to bring progress, a rising standard of living and health to that whole dark and oppressed part of the world.

All this could never have been achieved without some decisiveness, without being willing to ignore the cries of Arab tyrants and their paid representatives, without ruling out the old diplomatic jugglery — the quest for military and economic spheres of influence. (*Applause.*)

#### **Moderator Hitchcock:**

Thank you, Dr. Heller. Our third answer to tonight's question "How Can Peace Be Brought to Palestine?" will be given by Dr. Khalil Totah, executive director of the Institute of Arab-American Affairs. Dr. Totah. (*Applause.*)

#### **Dr. Totah:**

Before the Balfour Declaration, peace reigned in the Holy Land. There was no conflict between



Arabs and Jews. As soon as Zionism appeared, trouble began. The lash came as soon as the British commenced the implementation of the Balfour Declaration.

It requires no great knowledge, therefore, to find the cause for the absence of peace in Palestine. Peace may be ushered into the Holy Land tomorrow morning if Zionism is abandoned. Zionism and peace do not go together, for Zionism is an aggressive movement which can be consummated only by the sword.

It is essential to differentiate between the human Jewish problem and that of Palestine. It is Christendom which created the Jewish problem and it is Christendom's duty to solve it. Palestine has done more than its share of accepting Jewish immigrants, and it is high time now for us, in America, and for those in England and the Dominions to so alter immigration laws as to accommodate displaced persons of Europe. It ought to be easier to persuade ourselves to accept these refugees than to bully the Arabs into doing what we should do, ourselves.

We could admit Jewish refugees without bloodshed. Forcing the Arab world to do so may involve military intervention. It has already caused irritation and annoyance with Britain. It has already aroused the Arab world and filled its heart with resentment.

Lastly, Zionism is on the way of worsening our relations with Russia. For over a quarter of a century, the British have been forcing the National Home down Arab throats without success. Now, Britain has concluded that it is a futile undertaking and the Jews have taken matters into their own hands.

Tel Aviv boasted during the war that the Jews were raising an army of 100,000 to kick both the British and the Arabs under Palestine. The resort of Jewish fanatics to terror would be just as futile as British attempts to reconcile Arabs to Zionism.

Arab opposition is becoming more crystalized instead of softening. Opposition to the Jewish state is more intense with the younger generation than with their elders. It is folly for the Zionists to mislead public opinion and deceive themselves with the falsehood that the Arab masses favor their movement.

Those who believe that only a handful of effendis—that is, the professional class—oppose Zionism, can find out for themselves by visiting Palestine. The truth is, the Arab world in its entirety is a seething volcano ready to erupt at any hour and engulf the National Home.

Palestine, as part and parcel of the Arab world, is in earnest about Zionist aggression. The Arabs of today are not those of



yesterday. They helped the Allies in two World Wars in order to attain their independence. They have recently joined in an Arab league to make their dream of independence a reality.

It would be a mistake to trifle with these national forces. There will be no peace in the Middle East if the Zionists persist in antagonizing the Arabs, and in seeking to deprive them of their political rights which are as dear to them as life itself.

There is a more excellent way for bringing peace to Palestine than the Zionist challenge of the Arabs on their own soil. The Zionists are clamoring for a free democratic Palestine. So are the Arabs. Why not inaugurate democracy at once? The Zionists have blocked the development of democratic institutions much too long. The Jews want a free Palestine, but not when the Arabs are in the majority. They forget that if liberty is dear to them, it is also dear to the Arabs. If democracy is desirable for the Jews at some future date, it is desirable for the Arabs now.

Peace can be brought to Palestine when its inhabitants can be treated with justice. It is not justice to deny the Arabs the right to determine their own future, while at the same time permitting all sorts of foreign agencies to do it for them.

Peace may be brought to Palestine by the immediate establishment of an elected legislative assembly representing all people now in Palestine. Such a house should be the sole body which can rightfully speak for the country. It is for such a chamber to decide the fate of the Holy Land and not for a hand-picked Anglo-American committee or the Jewish agency.

If Zionism has meant and will mean war, it will be wiser for the Zionists not to drive so hard as to endanger the peace of the world.

Peace may be brought to Palestine as soon as its government is of the people, by the people, and for the people. (*Applause.*)

#### **Moderator Hitchcock:**

Thank you, Dr. Totah. Now we hear from a member of the Anglo-American Committee on problems of Jews in Europe and Palestine—the High Commissioner of Refugees for the League of Nations from 1933 to 1936, Dr. James G. McDonald. Dr. McDonald. (*Applause.*)

#### **Dr. McDonald:**

Dr. Totah, if I may respectfully suggest it, your solution is too easy. The Jews are merely to be sacrificed to Arab intransigency and everything will be well. It'll be interesting if Dr. Totah, later in the discussion period, would as an example of Arab help during

the war explain how the Mufti, the most important Arab leader, by working hand in glove with the Nazis in Berlin, helped the Allies to win the war. (*Applause.*)

A workable basis for peace in Palestine was clearly laid down by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in its unanimous report published on May 1. That American-British jury of twelve men—six Americans named by President Truman and six Britishers by Prime Minister Attlee—after four months of intensive study in Europe and in Palestine, unanimously agreed on a program which, had it been promptly and firmly been put into effect by the British Government, would, in my opinion, have brought peace today in Palestine.

That was also the view of a group of distinguished British statesmen, including L. S. Amery, former Secretary of State for India, and Viscount Cecil of Chellwood, who warned against delay in adopting the concrete proposals of this report. But this warning of some of Britain's greatest leaders was ignored by the Labor Government and the result has been tragedy in Palestine.

Thus it is only fair to say that the fundamental responsibility for that situation in Palestine today lies squarely at the door of the Labor Government (*applause*) which, despite its oft-repeated pledges to advance the Jewish Na-

tional Home in Palestine, failed to carry into effect the proposals of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

That committee, of which I had the honor to be a member, unanimously agreed on recommendations, of which the most important can be summarized as follows:

(1) The immediate issuance of 100,000 certificates of admission to Palestine and the movement of the Jewish refugees out of the camps of Europe to be begun at the earliest possible moment.

(2) The prompt rescinding of the anti-Jewish land laws and regulations which forbid Jewish purchase or lease of land in approximately four-fifths of Palestine.

(3) Far-reaching measures for the lifting of the standard of living of the Arab population of Palestine.

(4) Protection of the Holy places.

(5) Continuance under the United Nations of a form of trusteeship for Palestine until the country could become self-governing, it being clearly understood that there should neither be domination by one people or by another.

The first of these recommendations, involving as it did immediate action in the form of the prompt admission of 100,000 Jewish members from the displaced persons camps in Europe into Palestine, was a decisive test



of the British Government's willingness to act promptly and authoritatively to bring peace to Palestine.

The American military authorities in Berlin and in Vienna assured us that the American Army and Navy facilities could transport the 100,000 from the camps to Palestine within six weeks or two months. The British military authorities in Palestine told us that they did not anticipate serious Arab opposition in Palestine to the admission of these Jewish immigrants. It is certain that had such a migration been begun there would have been no Jewish terrorism, but active cooperation.

Unfortunately, the British Government did *not* authorize the admission of 100,000. Instead, there has been already two and a one-half months delay. A recent proposal for the establishment of separate Arab and Jewish provinces under the control of a central British authority has met with little favor from either Arabs or Jews.

Our committee had before it a comparable scheme proposed by some of the British experts, and rejected it on the ground that we were opposed to any move towards partition of the Holy Land. We then, that is, four months or so ago, were convinced that a unitary solution for the whole country could be achieved.

Though our committee rejected the idea of partition, I would not

tonight, in the light of the tragedy which exists in Palestine, say that some form of partition may not be the next best possible step. But such partition, to bring any measure of peace in Palestine, must give the Jews effective control of a sufficient portion of the country to be viable and large enough to admit those Jewish victims of Nazi terror who would otherwise perish.

There can be no absolute justice in any solution in Palestine. What should be sought, therefore, is a program which will give the largest measure of justice and inflict the smallest measure of injustice.

Surely, that solution is for the British Government to keep its solemn pledges to advance the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home and to facilitate the Jewish immigration into Palestine.

Is it asking too much that the Jewish people, who have seen six million of their brethren — one-third of all the Jews in the world — murdered, during and before this war, should now have justice done them in Palestine? (*Applause.*)

**Moderator Hitchcock:**

Thank you, Dr. McDonald. Well, gentlemen, you've raised a lot of important issues. I wonder if you'd like to come up here with me around the microphone now and probe more deeply into some of these points that you've brought

## THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

**JAMES GROVER McDONALD**—Mr. McDonald, a member of the Anglo-American Committee on Problems of Jews in Europe and Palestine, was born in Coldwater, Ohio, in 1886. He has an A.B. and an A.M. from Indiana University. For three years, he studied in the Graduate School of Harvard University. He also has degrees from Tufts College, Hebrew Union College, and Rutgers University.

From 1911 to 1914, Dr. McDonald was an assistant in the History department at Harvard and the following year he was the Woodbury Lowery traveling fellow from Harvard in Spain and France. For several years, he was assistant professor of history and political science at Indiana University. From 1919 to 1933, Dr. McDonald was chairman of the board of Foreign Policy Association, Inc.

As high commissioner for refugees (Jewish and others), Dr. McDonald turned his attention from 1933 to 1935, to those who were coming to America from Europe. For two years, he served as a member of the editorial staff of the *New York Times*. For another two years he was a news analyst and advisor of postwar conditions for the Blue Network. At various times, Dr. McDonald has been chairman of the President's Advisory Committee of Political Refugees, president of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences, member of the board of directors of National Refugee Service, Inc., chairman of Refugee Relief Trustees, Inc., and a member of the Board of Education of New York City.

**JAMES GUTHEIM HELLER**—A prominent composer and rabbi, Dr. Heller is a member of the executive committee and vice-president of the Zionist Organization of America.

Dr. Heller was born in New Orleans, in 1892. He received an A.B. degree

from Tulane University, an A.M. from the University of Cincinnati, and his degree as a rabbi from Hebrew Union College. He was also given the degree of Doctor of Music by the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music. He has served as a rabbi in Philadelphia, and Little Rock, Arkansas, and as a chaplain with the U.S. Army in World War I. Since 1920, he has been the rabbi of Isaac M. Wise Temple in Cincinnati, Ohio.

From 1926 to 1943, Dr. Heller was program annotator for the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra and since 1935 he has been a professor of musicology at the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music. Dr. Heller has been a member of the Board of Education of Cincinnati, a director of the Hamilton County Board of the Y.M.C.A., a member of the Board of Governors of Hebrew Union College, chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, vice president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and has served in several executive positions in the Zionist Organization of America.

Dr. Heller was the composer of "Aquatints for String Quartet" which was awarded a prize by the Society for the Publication of American Music, in 1929. He also composed "Watchman, What of the Night," an oratorio performed by the Cincinnati May Festival in 1939. He also has written many other musical numbers, included hymns and anthems for synagogues, songs, and chamber music.

**KHALIL TOTAH**—Dr. Totah is executive director of the Institute for Arab-American Affairs.

**PHILIP JORDAN**—Formerly chief foreign correspondent and war correspondent for the *London News-Chronicle*, Philip Jordan is a First Secretary at the British Embassy in Washington, D.C.

up? Mr. Jordan, do you want to express agreement or disagreement with any of the things your colleagues have said here tonight?

**Mr. Jordan:** Well, obviously, I must express disagreement, because we are all here to each put forward our own point of view, but I think I would like to ask Dr. Heller, who, in his very interesting talk, did say that—or

implied, rather—that what the British were trying to do was to put an end—he says "from preventing Great Britain from writing 'finis' to the magnificent achievement of the Jews in Palestine."

Now, I am sure that he is not going to say for one minute, that that is what we are doing or have tried to do. The population of Palestine has increased more than



five times since the mandate was granted to Great Britain. To suppose that simply because, at this moment, we have reached a difficult stage, that we are proposing to write "finis" to what we all agree are the magnificent achievements, doesn't seem to me to be stating the case quite fairly.

**Mr. Hitchcock:** Dr. Heller, would you like to explain a little more clearly for Mr. Jordan's benefit what you meant?

**Dr. Heller:** I shall be delighted, Mr. Chairman. It would take me a long time to answer the question adequately, but after having spent two months in Palestine and having studied the condition of the country very closely, I became convinced that by economic laws in regard to export and import, by the maintenance of a very high price level in the country, by restrictions upon the purchase of land, by all types of administrative enactments, the present purpose of British administration in Palestine is to put a quietus upon further Jewish achievement in the country. That can be done by stopping Jewish immigration, by stopping the purchase of land, by making the whole process of raising the level of health and of wealth in the country utterly impossible for those who are there or who might come there. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Hitchcock:** Dr. McDonald wants to talk to that point.

**Dr. McDonald:** I'm afraid that I must agree with Dr. Heller. Before I went to Palestine, I had felt, for the most part, that the British rule there had been an unmitigated good, but after study there, it seemed to me that the British policy of vacillation, of yielding progressively during the last decade to Arab pressure has steadily diminished the advance which the Jews have been able to achieve in Palestine. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Hitchcock:** And now, Dr. Totah.

**Dr. Totah:** I should like to ask both Dr. Heller and Dr. McDonald if they think it's just and democratic to withhold and suspend democracy until the Jews become a majority. Why not now? Again I'd like to ask Dr. McDonald how he thinks the introduction of 100,000 immigrants into Palestine now would bring peace?

**Mr. Hitchcock:** Dr. McDonald, he asked you two questions and Dr. Heller one. Maybe you should start first.

**Dr. McDonald:** Well, I'll answer the second half of the question about the 100,000. The introduction of the 100,000 into Palestine now would achieve two things. First, it would right one of the greatest tragedies that exists in Europe. It would empty the camps of 100,000 displaced Jewish persons—the remnant of the millions killed by Hitler's bru-

tality. Second, and perhaps even more important, it would be a proof, a proof sorely needed, that Britain really intends to carry out the provisions of the unanimous committee made up of six Britishers and six Americans. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Hitchcock:** Dr. Heller, would you like to answer the first question now?

**Dr. Heller:** Dr. Totah's question, like many such statements that have been made recently, seems to imply that all that is needed to bring democracy to Palestine is to congeal the country as it is today. That is utterly preposterous. Why is there no democracy in Saudi Arabia today, where the Arabs have no one else? (*Applause.*) Why has there been no genuine democracy in Egypt, since the beginning of time, since the time of Mohammed? (*Applause.*)

If, today, Palestine would have every Jew taken out of it and the Arabs were to be left to their own devices, I predict that you would have a feudalistic and medieval economy as it has all during its history. (*Applause.*) The truth of the matter, in my opinion, is that if genuine democracy is to be brought to Palestine and to the Arabs there, it can only be by raising the educational and the economic level of the country. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Hitchcock:** All right, Dr.

Totah, does that answer your question?

**Dr. Totah:** Dr. McDonald did not answer my question. He didn't say how the introduction of 100,000 would bring peace. I maintain immigration has brought war and will continue to bring war. Then about the introduction of 100,000, I wonder if the Anglo-American Committee has asked those displaced persons in Europe if they would care to come to America. (*Shouts.*)

**Mr. Hitchcock:** We'll give Dr. McDonald another chance to answer that question.

**Dr. McDonald:** The answer to the last part of Dr. Totah's question is "yes." We did specifically ask the people in all the camps whether they wanted to come to America or elsewhere and about 99 per cent of them said, with a single voice, "We want to go to Palestine." (*Applause.*) It would bring peace to Palestine because it would eliminate the danger of Jewish opposition and it would convince the Arabs that for once the British Government really means to carry out the terms of the mandate. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Hitchcock:** Mr. Jordan, we haven't heard from you for a long time. What do you have to say about this?

**Mr. Jordan:** Well, I quite agreed with Dr. Heller when he said that it is necessary to raise the educational standard of the



country. That is indeed one of the proposals that is made, I think, in the new—not the old report—but the new Anglo-American report that if 100,000 immigrants are to go into Palestine—and I don't have to stand up here and say to you, because you know how I feel from what I said, that that is one of the things that I am most anxious to see happen. But if we are to keep the peace in Palestine, it is essential, I believe, that some *quid pro quo* must be given to the Arabs. They are there; they are a majority.

If, at this moment, 100,000 homeless unhappy people, whom it is our duty to look after, are to be taken into Palestine, I say that they will be taken into civil war and I will quote Dr. McDonald's Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry which said, "we are clear in our minds that if the British forces were withdrawn, there would be immediate and prolonged bloodshed, the end of which it is impossible to predict."

**Mr. Hitchcock:** Dr. Heller, I think you should have another chance at this and then just a word from Dr. Totah.

**Dr. Heller:** No one must have the impression that it is the purpose of Jews in coming into Palestine to combat the Arabs, or to try to impair their status in the country. On the contrary, no one can visit the Near East, without observing that the position of the

Arabs in Palestine is appreciably superior to that of any of the other Arab lands in education, in economic status, in acquisition of modern methods, in their whole attitude toward their own life, in the hopefulness with which they confront their careers.

This has been done without subsidies. It has been done without drawing upon the Treasury of the United States and it is an utter mistake to believe that you can raise the level of the Arab world only by taking \$300,000,000 out of the Treasury of the United States. It must be done by reversing the whole current in the Near East, which has been backwards, which has been set back toward the Middle Ages. (*Applause.*)

**Mr. Hitchcock:** Just a second, Dr. Totah.

**Dr. Totah:** I should request Dr. Heller to leave the Arabs to shift for themselves and look after their own democracy and let us here—I speak as an American citizen—look after our own democracy in Georgia, for example. Lebanon and Egypt have progressed even more than Palestine without the benefits of Zionism. In every way, Lebanon and Syria and Egypt have progressed.

I've lived in Palestine all my life and I know the difference between then and now without the interference of Zionism.

**Mr. Hitchcock:** Thank you Dr. Totah. Now, before we take

questions from this representative, but impatient, New York audience, let's pause briefly for station identification.

**Announcer:** You are listening to America's Town Meeting of the Air coming to you tonight from New York City where we are carrying on a discussion of the question, "How Can Peace Be Brought to Palestine?" We have heard from Dr. James G. McDonald, Dr. Khalil Totah, Mr. Philip Jordan, Dr. James G. Heller who are now ready to take questions from the audience.

For a complete copy of this discussion, including the question period to follow immediately, send for the Town Meeting Bulletin. Just write to Town Hall, New York 18, New York, and enclose 10 cents to cover the cost of printing and mailing. You may secure the Bulletin for an entire year for \$4.50; for six months for \$2.35; and for 11 weeks for \$1.

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## QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

*Mr. Hitchcock:* As usual, we will award a \$25 United States Savings Bond tonight to the person who, in the opinion of our committee of judges, asks the question which seems best for bringing out the facts and clarifying the discussion. Your questions must not be more than 25 words. Now may we have your question, please? The gentleman in the back there who has a question for Mr. Jordan, I think.

*Man:* Isn't it true that the British and American oil companies are paying money to British agents to foment dissension between the democracy-loving Arabs and Jews?

*Mr. Hitchcock:* All right, Mr. Jordan.

*Mr. Jordan:* Well, it won't take me a minute to answer that. I'm not myself in pay of the oil companies and I haven't the faintest idea. *(Laughter.)*

*Mr. Hitchcock:* Thank you, sir. Now we have another question over there. *(Applause.)*

*Man:* I just want to ask Dr. Heller one question. Suppose you established a Jewish state in Palestine, would you as an American Zionist, quit your citizenship and go and live there as an example for American Zionists?

*Mr. Hitchcock:* All right, Dr. Heller, what would you say to that?

*Dr. Heller:* I notice that the gentleman lives in America.



(Laughter and applause.) First of all I would like to say that it seems to me that that is no test of the justice of the cause. That's called traditionally an *argumentum ad hominum*—an argument to an individual—which is not considered a very courteous form of argument in general. I should say personally that if I had the need to go to Palestine and were not replacing someone who needed it more than I, from what I saw of the country last year I should be delighted to go and live in Palestine. (Applause.)

Mr. Hitchcock: Thank you, Dr. Heller. Now we'll take a question from the gentleman up front here.

Man: My question is addressed to Dr. Totah. Dr. Totah, you stated in your original presentation, or you made reference to the Arab contribution during the war. Did you refer to the Grand Mufti's escape to Berlin and made propaganda for the Axis cause?

Mr. Hitchcock: All right, Dr. Totah, would you answer that question.

Dr. Totah: Dr. Heller has just said that it was an *argumentum ad hominum*. I should say that this is much worse—it has nothing to do with the question.

Mr. Hitchcock: Yes, Dr. McDonald wants to talk to that question.

Dr. McDonald: How Dr. Totah can say that the role of the Grand

Mufti has nothing to do with the question is amazing. Even last March when we were in Jerusalem, the vice chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, acting instead of the Mufti who was away, felt impelled by Arab opinion to put the Grand Mufti forward as the hero of the Arab world, despite the Grand Mufti's aid to the Nazis throughout the war. (Applause.)

Mr. Hitchcock: Dr. Totah, would you like to comment further on that point?

Dr. Totah: I insist that the Mufti question has nothing to do with the argument of whether Palestine belongs to the majority of its inhabitants or not. The Mufti is a patriot, is a gentleman, and he was just as patriotic and had a right to his opinion as Jefferson and Franklin had to theirs when they were fighting for American liberty.

Mr. Hitchcock: All right. Let's turn from that to some other phase of the discussion. The gentleman with the No. 2 card way back there.

Man: I direct my question to Dr. Heller. If there was an immediate creation of a single independent state in Palestine, how could protection of the minority—the Jews—be assured?

Mr. Hitchcock: All right, Dr. Heller.

Dr. Heller: No protection of a minority of Jews under an immediate state in Palestine could be suc-

cessfully achieved, in my opinion. The statement was made sometime ago that the Arabs have respect for minorities. I submit that there have been two recent instances in Arab history which show the most errant disrespect for minorities—the slaughter of many thousands of Assyrian Christians in Iraq, most of whom fled from the country, and the long continued, century-old persecution of Christians in Lebanon, in Syria, because of which Lebanon has petitioned to be an independent commonwealth within Syria and will be granted the request.

The only safeguard of the Jews in Palestine is that they be given some measure of autonomy and assistance so that they will not depend upon anyone else for toleration. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Hitchcock:* All right. Now we have a gentleman in the front row who has a question. Yes, sir.

*Man:* My question is addressed to Dr. McDonald. The six million Jews in Europe, who were murdered, were murdered by Christians and not by Arabs. Now there are 700 million Christians in the world and they can readily absorb in those countries where they live, a few hundred thousand or many hundred thousand persons. Now the United States absorbed five million Jews and they seem to be suffering not over much on that account. Why cannot the countries which contain 700 mil-

lion Christians who are responsible for the murder of those six million Jews absorb a few hundred thousand more Jews and thereby avert another world war and another blood bath if the American Jewish committee will allow it?

*Mr. Hitchcock:* That's a little longer than 25 words and therefore not eligible for the Savings Bond. Dr. McDonald.

*Dr. McDonald:* First, I would like to take exception to the statement that the Jews were murdered by Christians. If Hitler, Himmler, and Goering were Christians, then I'm a heathen of the most extreme sort. The question, however, was why should there be a demand for 100,000 and more Jews to go to Palestine instead of to the rest of the world? That's what it means. Because the Jews, under the terms of the mandate and the Balfour Declaration, have a special status in Palestine. They have a right, in the terms of Churchill, himself, to go to Palestine—not on sufferance, but by right. Moreover, the 100,000 to which we are addressing our remarks tonight want to go nowhere else. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Hitchcock:* Let's get a feminine point of view into this. Will the lady in the back please ask her question?

*Lady:* Mr. Jordan, can you explain to me why you take for granted that there must be friction between the Jews and the

Arabs? There never was until the British action . . . . (*words indistinguishable.*)

*Mr. Hitchcock:* All right, Mr. Jordan. I don't think the lady quite finished her question. We were trying to tell her that she should stand so that we could hear the question clearly through the parabolic microphone. But I think you got enough to answer.

*Mr. Jordan:* Well, I certainly got an allegation that we let the Mufti go free. As far as I know, he came out of France in an American airplane, and very much against our will—indeed, very much against our will. You asked me why I think that there would be bloodshed if the British were to leave Palestine.

Now my opinion isn't worth having on this subject. But the opinion of the twelve men who formed the original commission seems to me to be worth having, and it is their opinion that there would be prolonged and immediate bloodshed if the British went. The opinion of the—whatever it's called—I think, the Cabinet Committee of Experts who have produced the latest report—the one now under study—is that it is unthinkable that the British should go today, because, if they surrendered the mandate and withdrew there would be immediately internecine war in Palestine. Now, those are the opinions of people

who are obviously much better qualified to answer you tonight.

*Mr. Hitchcock:* Dr. McDonald has a word to say on this question:

*Dr. McDonald:* May I, as a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, remind Mr. Jordan and the questioner that we never suggested, of course, that the British leave Palestine immediately. What we suggested, in substance, was that the British government begin now to live up to its obligations under the mandate. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Hitchcock:* The gentleman on the left.

*Man:* Dr. Totah, in line with your viewpoint, would you recommend the appointment of a committee of equal number of Arabs and Jews to settle those problems which confront them, and where those problems cannot be settled by them, they should appeal or permit a committee appointed by the United Nations to then settle those differences which exist?

*Dr. Totah:* The problem of Palestine should be settled by its own people, both Arabs and Jews, now in Palestine—not by Jews in Poland, or by Jews in New York, or anywhere else. That's the only democratic way. Let the Jews and Arabs in one house, duly elected, vote on this explosive issue of immigration and all the other issues. It's their business and nobody else's. (*Applause.*)



*Mr. Hitchcock:* Now, we have a question from the back row. The gentleman in the back row, please.

*Man:* Dr. Heller, can Palestine absorb another 100,000 Jews?

*Dr. Heller:* When I was in Palestine last summer, I was assured by the experts of the Jewish agency that at that time Palestine could absorb 116,000 additional people without having to create any employment whatsoever, in the colonies and the industries. It was also reckoned by Mr. Robert Nathan, who headed a committee of economic experts, that Palestine can absorb 1,200,000 people within ten years. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Hitchcock:* All right. Thank you. Now, the gentleman on the left.

*Man:* Mr. McDonald. In your very aim for freedom and democracy, how can a jury of 12 British and American men be qualified to recommend what Arabs and Jews desire? (*Applause.*)

*Dr. McDonald:* The answer is that Britain has the mandate for Palestine, is responsible, under the Covenant of the League, and continues to be responsible until that responsibility has been replaced by the new United Nations. The justification for the Anglo-American Committee was that they would get as nearly an objective estimate as possible. They heard Jews and Arabs all over Europe, in New York, and throughout the Arab world. I think, if you would

study the personalities on that committee you would reach the conclusion that it is as nearly a complete means of getting an objective report as you could devise.

*Mr. Hitchcock:* Dr. Heller has a comment.

*Dr. Heller:* The gentleman who asked the question seems to imagine that a jury consists of the criminals. That's a novel concept. In addition to that, one has to understand—and this is something that many people seem to fail to comprehend—Palestine represents a unique case. Under the terms of the mandate, Palestine was to be a place designed for settlement by people not there. It you had taken a vote in Palestine after its liberation from the Turks in 1918, you could have gotten a much more overwhelming vote. Since that time, also, those of the audience and those who are in the unseen audience ought to know, hundreds of thousands of Arabs have come into Palestine who were not there at that time. Why should they have a right any more than the Jews, who came into the country to determine the destiny of the nation? The thing cannot be solved in that kind of simple, democratic fashion. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Hitchcock:* Now this must be a provocative question, because Mr. Jordan has something to say on it, too.

*Mr. Jordan:* I just wanted to say that these twelve good men

and true did not constitute a jury because both the British Government and the American Government are both pledged, before putting any scheme into effect, to consult both the leaders of the Jewish and Arab communities. These reports were merely to be the bases for discussions with these leaders and they were not in any sense, I think it's fair to say, a jury, nor did they think of themselves as such.

*Mr. Hitchcock:* Well, that brought Dr. Totah to his feet, so we're having comments from all of our speakers.

*Dr. Totah:* Many references have been made to the mandate and the Balfour Declaration and I should like to enlighten the millions who are listening to us this evening that the Balfour Declaration and the mandates were unilateral arrangements and the Arabs have never recognized them or acknowledged them, nor will they ever do so.

*Mr. Hitchcock:* Just a word from Dr. McDonald before we take another question.

*Dr. McDonald:* The mandate and the Balfour Declaration have been incorporated in the international law of the world and for a quarter of a century have been recognized as binding by the civilized world. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Hitchcock:* Dr. Heller wants to add just one word.

*Dr. Heller:* One would get the impression that these documents, or particularly the mandate, were made in a vacuum, without the knowledge and consent of the Arabs. That is completely untrue. There are two letters on record from Amir Feisel—one to Felix Frankfurter and the other to Chaim Weizmann—giving full endorsement, on behalf of the Arabs, of whom he is the official representative, to the principle of the Balfour Declaration and the mandate. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Hitchcock:* One word from Dr. Totah. We must get some more questions, Dr. Totah, so just a word.

*Dr. Totah:* In those days, there was no talk or conception of a sovereign Jewish state and Feisel's agreements were personal and they were never ratified. People did not know there was going to be such a thing as the present immigration and the Zionist state. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Hitchcock:* Now there's a gentleman who's been standing over here ready to ask a question for about five minutes. The gentleman on the right who has a question for Mr. Jordan.

*Man:* I address this to Mr. Jordan. The Atlantic Charter consists of basic precepts adopted by the United Nations. One of the foremost of these provides for the protection of minorities; therefore, is it not of prime import-

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ance that this Palestine problem be turned over to the United Nations at once?

*Mr. Jordan:* Well now, Winston Churchill has suggested that it should be turned over to the United Nations. What the policy of the British Government is at this moment I do not know. The spokesman for it, Herbert Morrison, said that if the United States did not feel able to support the recommendations of their experts and ours, that the British Government would then have to reconsider the position, particularly with regard to the speed of immigration.

At the moment, the whole question, obviously—because so far as I know, no reply has yet come from Washington although there are statements from London today that make one think it possible that it has—the whole question has gone back, alas, into the melting pot.

*Mr. Hitchcock:* Question from the gentleman in the tan coat in the center of the auditorium.

*Man:* I address my question to Dr. Totah. Concerning the democratic process in Palestine and the participation of the Arab population on a just and democratic process, can you explain why the Arab representatives under advisory legislative bodies in Palestine, whom the British mandate tried to get in a working order, before the outbreak of the war in

several years, why do those representatives always obstruct and cause discord?

*Mr. Hitchcock:* We seem to have lots of long questions tonight, Dr. Totah. You can't frame a question on this subject under twenty-five words, apparently.

*Dr. Totah:* I'm afraid the questioner is misinformed. The Arabs never wanted to be nominated and hand-picked to be on any kind of a council. They want to be elected by the people to represent what the people want, not what the government wants.

*Mr. Hitchcock:* All right. Now we have a question from back here on the right.

*Man:* My question has to do with a basis for the Balfour Declaration. If Palestine, as has been claimed, belonged to the Turks, why should they have surrendered it to the Jews and not to its Arabs inhabitants?

*Mr. Hitchcock:* This is to Dr. McDonald.

*Dr. McDonald:* The heirs to the Turkish Empire were the Allied and associated powers at the end of the last war, and they had, under international law, the right to dispose of those territories. They gave to the other Arab nations nearly 99 per cent of the Arab territory, and they asked merely that this tiny sliver of land representing only two or three per cent of the so-called Arab world should be reserved as a



Jewish National Home. Surely not an unreasonable request. (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Hitchcock:* We have time for just one very short question from the lady here. Yes, please. Very quickly.

*Lady:* I would like to ask Mr. Jordan why Great Britain went to the trouble of appointing six good men and asked the United States to appoint six good men to make an exhaustive study of the situation and then throw it into the scrap heap? (*Applause.*)

*Mr. Hitchcock:* Just five seconds, Mr. Jordan.

*Mr. Jordan:* Well it hasn't been thrown into the scrap heap. It's still the subject of discussion.

*Mr. Hitchcock:* Thank you, very much, Mr. Jordan, and gentlemen. I'm sorry we have no more time for questions. Now while the judges decide on the winning question, here is the announcer to tell you about next week's program.

*Announcer:* Next Thursday we'll turn to a domestic question which is close to the pocketbook

of every American citizen. "Can Free Competition Now Prevent Inflation?" Our speakers will be Ira Mosher, chairman of the board of National Association of Manufacturers; Peter Drucker, author and economist; Sylvia Porter, financial columnist of the New York Post; and William Yandell Elliott of Harvard University and the War Production Board. Emerson Markham, General Manager of Station WGY in Schenectady will be your guest moderator. Now here is Mr. Hitchcock with the news of the winning question. Mr. Hitchcock.

*Mr. Hitchcock:* Tonight our committee of judges awards the \$25 United States Savings Bond for the following question to Dr. Heller, "If there was an immediate creation of a single independent state in Palestine, how could the protection of the minority of Jews be assured?"\* Congratulations to the person who asked that question. (*Applause.*)

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\*The winner of the bond was Robert F. Zuch of Caldwell, New Jersey.

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